

Br. Ex. 181

ORAL STATEMENT HANDED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO
THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA) ON JUNE 21, 1941

Excerpt.

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The Secretary of State has no reason to doubt that many Japanese leaders share the views of the Japanese Ambassador and his associates as indicated above and would support action toward achieving those high objectives. Unfortunately, accumulating evidence reaches this Government from sources all over the world, including reports from sources which over many years have demonstrated sincere good will toward Japan, that some Japanese leaders in influential official positions are definitely committed to a course which calls for support of Nazi Germany and its policies of conquest and that the only kind of understanding with the United States which they would endorse is one that would envisage Japan's fighting on the side of Hitler should the United States become involved in the European hostilities through carrying out its present policy of self-defense. The tenor of recent public statements gratuitously made by spokesmen of the Japanese Government emphasizing Japan's commitment and intentions under the Tripartite alliance exemplify an attitude which cannot be ignored. So long as such leaders maintain this attitude in their official positions and apparently seek to influence public opinion in Japan in the direction indicated, is it not illusory to expect that adoption of a proposal such as the one under consideration offers a basis for achieving substantial results along the desired lines?

Another source of misgiving in the Japanese proposal relates to the desire of the Japanese Government to include in its terms for a peaceful settlement to be offered to the Chinese Government a provision which would permit the stationing of Japanese troops in certain areas in Inner Mongolia and North China as a measure of cooperation with China in resisting communistic activities. While this Government has given careful thought to the considerations which have prompted the Japanese Government to make such a proposal, and while this Government does not desire to enter into the merits of such a proposal, it feels that the liberal policies to which the United States is committed, as explained on numerous occasions to the Japanese Ambassador and his associates, would not permit this Government to associate itself with any course which appears to be inconsistent with these policies. Furthermore, although in matters affecting only this country there might be some latitude of decision as to the qualifying of rights, the matter under discussion affects the sovereign rights of a third country, and accordingly it is felt that this Government must be most scrupulous in dealing with such a matter.

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The Secretary of State has therefore reluctantly come to the conclusion that this Government must await some clearer indication than has yet been given that the Japanese Government as a whole desires to pursue courses of peace such as constitute the objectives of the proposed understanding. This Government sincerely hopes that the Japanese Government will manifest such an attitude.

NOTE: In order to bring the current discussions up to date as far as the American attitude is concerned, there is being handed the Japanese Ambassador separately a revision, bearing the date of June 21, of the document marked "Unofficial, Exploratory and without Commitment" which was handed the Japanese Ambassador on May 31.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 485-486.

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一九四一年(昭和十六年)六月二十一日國務長官から
日本大使(野村)に手交され口述聲明板草

國務長官は多数の日本指導者達が野村大使及び其の同僚の有する前述の意見と同感であり、その高、目的を達成する爲に援助するであらうことを疑ふ理由を知らず、不幸にして多年に亘つて日本に眞面目な好意を表明してゐた勲を合む金銭界、各勲から入手せる積る証拠は有力な官職に在る日本の指導者中。或者は「ナチス」独逸とその征服政策に対する支持を促す方向にはよりと落ち込んで居り、且是等の指導者達が承認するアメリカの唯一の了解は若しもアメリカが現在として自ら自己防衛の政策を遂行するに依りヨーロッパ戦争に捲き込まれる様になった場合日本がヒトラーの側に立つて戦ふことになるといふことを正してゐる。三國同盟に基く日本の約束及び意図を強調せる日本政府代弁者が理由もなしに發表せる最近の公式聲明の趣意は無視出来ぬ、態度の転を正してゐる。是等の指導者達が彼等の官職上斯る意見を持ち、明らかに日本の輿論を其の指する方向に向けんとする以上、現在検討中の提案。採用が希望する方向に實質的結果を齎す基盤を提供するものなりと期待するは誤解ではなからうか。日本の提案中、一つの疑念の原由は日本政府が中國政府に申し出ざるや否の平和解決の條件中に、共產主義活動を

防止する爲。甲國との協力を手段として内蒙及び華北の或る地既に日本軍隊の驍屯を許す規定を含めようと欲してゐることに固まらう。我が政府は、日本をして斯様な提案をなした理由に關して入念なる考慮を廻らして来たし、又斯様な提案の價值に關して論議するを欲しなかつた。一寸に於て凡ゆる機會に日本大使及び其の同僚に説明した如く、アメリカの採り得る自由政策は我が政府として此の政策に矛盾する様な方針と協同することを許さないのである。更に我が國のみに影響する事柄に關する事柄は權利制限に就て或程度決定の自由があるかも知れないが、現に検討されてゐる事柄は第三國の主權に影響を及ぼすものであり、従つて我が政府は斯様な事柄を處理するに當つて非常な細心にやらなければならぬと思ふ。

それ故國務長官は嫌々ながら次の如き結論に達した。即ち提案された了解の目的。如き一歩を方針を進めることを日本政府が欲してゐるといふことを今迄最も一層明瞭に表示せしめ、我が政府は待つに値するものといふことである。我が政府は日本政府が斯る態度を明かにすることにならうと希望してゐる。

「註」

アメリカの態度に關する限り、今迄の協議を今日の事態に即したものと爲す爲に五月廿一日に日本大使に手交された「非公式、探究的且不拘束的」と記された書類を六月二十日、日付を以て改訂されたものが日本大使に別に手交される。

外交関係

第三卷 四八五—四八六頁

外國関係

II 四八五—四八六頁

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Br. Ex. 182

DRAFT PROPOSAL HANDED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (NOMURA) ON JUNE 21, 1941

Unofficial, Exploratory
and Without Commitment

(Washington,) June 21, 1941.

The Governments of the United States and of Japan accept joint responsibility for the initiation and conclusion of a general agreement of understanding as expressed in a joint declaration for the resumption of traditional friendly relations.

Without reference to specific causes of recent estrangement, it is the sincere desire of both Governments that the incidents which led to the deterioration of amicable sentiment between their countries should be prevented from recurrence and corrected in their unforeseen and unfortunate consequences.

It is our earnest hope that, by a cooperative effort, the United States and Japan may contribute effectively toward the establishment and preservation of peace in the Pacific area and, by the rapid consummation of an amicable understanding, encourage world peace and arrest, if not dispel, the tragic confusion that now threatens to engulf civilization.

For such decisive action, protracted negotiations would seem ill-suited and weakening. Both Governments, therefore, desire that adequate instrumentalities should be developed for the realization of a general understanding which would bind, meanwhile, both Governments in honor and in act.

It is the belief of the two Governments that such an understanding should comprise only the pivotal issues of urgency and not the accessory concerns which could be deliberated later at a conference.

Both Governments presume to anticipate that they could achieve harmonious relations if certain situations and attitudes were clarified or improved; to wit:

1. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.
2. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.
3. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.
4. Commerce between both nations.
5. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.
6. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.
7. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

Accordingly, the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan have come to the following mutual understanding and declaration of policy:

I. The concepts of the United States and of Japan respecting international relations and the character of nations.

Both governments affirm that their national policies are directed toward the foundation of a lasting peace and the inauguration of a new era of reciprocal confidence and cooperation between our peoples.

Both Governments declare that it is their traditional, and present, concept and conviction that nations and races compose, as members of a family, one household living under the ideal of universal concord through justice and equity; each equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interests regulated by peaceful processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical welfare, which they are bound to defend for themselves as they are bound not to destroy for others; they further admit their responsibilities to oppose the oppression or exploitation of other peoples.

Both Governments are firmly determined that their respective traditional concepts on the character of nations and the underlying moral principles of social order and national life will continue to be preserved and never transformed by foreign ideas or ideologies contrary to those moral principles and concepts.

II. The attitudes of both Governments toward the European war.

The Government of Japan maintains that the purpose of the Tripartite Pact was, and is, defensive and is designed to contribute to the prevention of an unprovoked extension of the European war.

The Government of the United States maintains that its attitude toward the European hostilities is and will continue to be determined solely and exclusively by considerations of protection and self-defense; its national security and the defense thereof.

NOTE (There is appended a suggested draft of an exchange of letters as a substitute for the Annex and Supplement on the part of the Government of the United States on this subject which constituted a part of the draft of May 31, 1941. For discussion of the fundamental question underlying this whole section, vide the Oral statement handed the Japanese Ambassador on June 21.)

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The Japanese Government having communicated to the Government of the United States the general terms within the framework of which the Japanese Government will propose the negotiation of a peaceful settlement with the Chinese Government, which terms are declared by the Japanese Government to be in harmony with the Konoe principles regarding neighborly friendship and mutual respect of sovereignty and territories and with the practical application of those principles, the President of the United States will suggest to the Government of China that the Government of China and the Government of Japan enter into a negotiation on a basis mutually advantageous and acceptable for a termination of hostilities and resumption of peaceful relations.

NOTE (The foregoing draft of Section III is subject to further discussion of the question of cooperative defense against communistic activities, including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory, and the question of economic cooperation between China and Japan. With regard to suggestions that the language of Section III be changed, it is believed that consideration of any suggested change can most advantageously be given after all the points in the annex relating to this section have been satisfactorily worked out, when the section and its annex can be viewed as a whole.)

IV. Commerce between both nations.

When official approbation to the present understanding has been given by both Governments, the United States and Japan shall assure each other mutually to supply such commodities as are, respectively, available and required by either of them. Both Governments further consent to take necessary steps to resume normal trade relations as formerly established under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan. If a new commercial treaty is desired by both Governments, it would be negotiated as soon as possible and be concluded in accordance with usual procedures.

V. Economic activity of both nations in the Pacific area.

On the basis of mutual pledges hereby given that Japanese activity and American activity in the Pacific area shall be carried on by peaceful means and in conformity with the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations, the Japanese Government and the Government of the United States agree to cooperate each with the other toward obtaining non-discriminatory access by Japan and by the United States to commercial supplies of natural resources (such as oil, rubber, tin, nickel) which each country needs for the safeguarding and development of its own economy.

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VI. The policies of both nations affecting political stabilization in the Pacific area.

Both Governments declare that the controlling policy underlying this understanding is peace in the Pacific area; that it is their fundamental purpose, through cooperative effort, to contribute to the maintenance and the preservation of peace in the Pacific area; and that neither has territorial designs in the area mentioned.

VII. Neutralization of the Philippine Islands.

The Government of Japan declares its willingness to enter at such time as the Government of the United States may desire into negotiation with the Government of the United States with a view to the conclusion of a treaty for the neutralization of the Philippine Islands, when Philippine independence shall have been achieved.

(Annex 1)

ANNEX AND SUPPLEMENT ON THE PART OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

III. Action toward a peaceful settlement between China and Japan.

The basic terms as referred to in the above section are as follows:

1. Neighborly friendship.
2. (Cooperative defense against injurious communistic activities--including the stationing of Japanese troops in Chinese territory.) Subject to further discussion.
3. (Economic cooperation.) Subject to agreement on an exchange of letters in regard to the application to this point of the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations.
4. Mutual respect of sovereignty and territories.
5. Mutual respect for the inherent characteristics of each nation cooperating as good neighbors and forming an East Asian nucleus contributing to world peace.
6. Withdrawal of Japanese armed forces from Chinese territory as promptly as possible and in accordance with an agreement to be concluded between Japan and China.
7. No annexation.
8. No indemnities.
9. Amicable negotiation in regard to Manchoukuo.

(Annex 2)

ANNEX AND SUPPLEMENT ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

IV. Commerce between both nations.

It is understood that during the present international emergency Japan and the United States each shall permit export to the other of commodities in amounts up to the figures of usual or pre-war trade, except, in the case of each, commodities which it needs for its own purposes of security and self-defense. These limitations are mentioned to clarify the obligations of each Government. They are not intended as restrictions against either Government; and, it is understood, both Governments will apply such regulations in the spirit dominating relations with friendly nations.

(Annex 3)

SUGGESTED EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND
THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR

The Secretary of State to the Japanese Ambassador:

EXCELLENCY: In Section II of the Joint Declaration which was entered into today on behalf of our two Governments, statements are made with regard to the attitudes of the two Governments toward the European war. During the informal conversations which resulted in the conclusion of this Joint Declaration I explained to you on a number of occasions the attitude and policy of the Government of the United States toward the hostilities in Europe and I pointed out that this attitude and policy were based on the inalienable right of self-defense. I called special attention to an address which I delivered on April 24 setting forth fully the position of this Government upon this subject.

I am sure that you are fully cognizant of this Government's attitude toward the European war but in order that there may be no misunderstanding I am again referring to the subject. I shall be glad to receive from you confirmation by the Government of Japan that, with regard to the measures which this nation may be forced to adopt in defense of its own security, which have been set forth as indicated, the Government of Japan is not under any commitment which would require Japan to take any action contrary to or destructive of the fundamental objective of the present agreement, to establish and to preserve peace in the Pacific areas.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

The Japanese Ambassador to the Secretary of State.

EXCELLENCY: I have received your letter of June . . .

I wish to state that my government is fully aware of the attitude of the Government of the United States toward the hostilities in Europe as explained to me by you during our recent conversations and as set forth in your address of April 24. I did not fail to report to my Government the policy of the Government of the United States as it had been explained to me, and I may assure you that my Government understands and appreciates the attitude and position of the Government of the United States with regard to the European war.

I wish also to assure you that the Government of Japan, with regard to the measures which the Government of the United States may be forced to adopt in defense of its own security, is not under any commitment requiring Japan to take any action contrary to or destructive of the fundamental objective of the present agreement.

The Government of Japan, fully cognizant of its responsibilities freely assumed by the conclusion of this agreement, is determined to take no action inimical to the establishment and preservation of peace in the Pacific area.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

(Annex 4)

SUGGESTED LETTER TO BE ADDRESSED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR IN CONNECTION WITH THE JOINT DECLARATION

EXCELLENCY: In the informal conversations which resulted in the conclusion of a general agreement of understanding between our two Governments, you and your associates expressed fully and frankly views on the intentions of the Japanese Government in regard to applying to Japan's proposed economic cooperation with China the principle of non-discrimination in international commercial relations. It is believed that it would be helpful if you could be so good as to confirm the statements already expressed orally in the form of replies on the following points:

1. Does the term "economic cooperation" between Japan and China contemplate the granting by the Government of Japan to the Japanese Government or its nationals of any preferential or monopolistic rights which would discriminate in favor of the Japanese Government and Japanese nationals as compared with the Government and nationals of the United States and of other third countries? Is it contemplated that upon the inauguration of negotiations for a

peaceful settlement between Japan and China the special Japanese companies, such as the North China Development Company and the Central China Promotion Company and their subsidiaries, will be divested, in so far as Japanese official support may be involved, of any monopolistic or other preferential rights that they may exercise in fact or that may inure to them by virtue of present circumstances in areas of China under Japanese military occupation?

2. With regard to existing restrictions upon freedom of trade and travel by nationals of third countries in Chinese territory under Japanese military occupation, could the Japanese Government indicate approximately what restrictions will be removed immediately upon the entering into by the Government of Chungking of negotiations with the Government of Japan and what restrictions will be removed at later dates, with an indication in each case in so far as possible of the approximate time within which removal of restrictions would be effected?

3. Is it the intention of the Japanese Government that the Chinese Government shall exercise full and complete control of matters relating to trade, currency and exchange? Is it the intention of the Japanese Government to withdraw and to redeem the Japanese military notes which are being circulated in China and the notes of Japanese-sponsored regimes in China? Can the Japanese Government indicate how soon after the inauguration of the contemplated negotiations arrangements to the above ends can in its opinion be carried out?

It would be appreciated if as specific replies as possible could be made to the questions above listed.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

Foreign Relations II, pp. 486-492.

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一九四二年/昭和十七年/六月廿一日國務長官ヨリ日本大使(野村三平)宛ニテ之ヲ提案、草案

「ミ」ニ「於」

一九四二年/昭和十七年/六月廿一日

(非正式探宥的、且不拘束的)

米國政府及日本政府、傳統的友好關係再開、爲共同宣言ニ於テ表明セラル了解ヲ遂ゲル爲、全般的協定、開始及ニ締結ニ関シ共同、責任ヲ負フモノナリ。

近時兩國間ヲ疎遠ナラシムル特殊原因ニ關係テ、兩國政府、兩國間、友好的感情ヲ惡化セラル諸事件、再發ヲ防止シ、予見ヲ得ず目不安ナ結果ヲ招カセシメ、正々ニ之ヲ救ヘンヲ希望ス。

共同、協力ニ依リ米國及日本が太平洋地域ニ於テ平和、確立及ニ維持ニ對シ、効果的ニ貢獻シ、又友好的了解ヲ早ムニ遂ゲルニ依リ世界平和ヲ助長シ、且今ヤ文明ヲ危殆ニ陥リ、悲劇的混亂ヲ消散セシメ阻止スルニ我々、真摯ナル希望ナリ。

斯ノ決定的措置、爲ニ交渉、確立、不圖ニテ、消極的デ、從テ兩國政府、一、間ニ兩國政府ヲ德義上及行動上拘束ス、全般的了解ヲ遂ゲルニ充テタル方便ヲ講セラルトヲ希望ス。

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之于先利字、相關係、以于各自平等、權利享有、責任認
 之事、兩國政府傳統的、于現在、於之交、各于概念、予、又確信、
 及于宣言、更、兩國政府、他國家對之、正、及、採取、及、討、不、責
 任、于、認、

兩國政府國家對於社會秩序並國民生活其踐行道義。開元大皇帝統的概念依然ト予保存ス。見乎道義及概念ト相容カル思想又ハ予方キハ依リ些々變更スルヲ就キ確乎決意ヲ有ス。

二、歐洲戰爭對英國政府態度

日本政府：三國協定，目的在防衛的立場上，又現存於大同存心下，且歐洲戰爭，挑釁依之尤擴大，防止三國敵意為在下主張之。

米國政府、歐洲戰事、可^レ能^ニな^レる^ニ現在及^ニ將來^ニ專^ニラ^ニ防禦及
自衛^ニ即^ニ國家、安全^ニ及^ニ防禦^ニ關^ニ心^ニ考^ニ慮^ニ依^リ決^スル^ニ上^ニ主張^ス。

註(元四年)昭和十二年五月廿一日附草案(一部)以下本件三關(る)本國(國)創
附屬書及補之書三式(之)之交換音翰提議草案不(之)茲添附之。本
章全体其廢止為根本問題、討議。就(之)六月二十日(之)以下日本不便
二(之)交換(之)之口頭聲明(之)矣(之)昭(七)

三、日本中國間，平和的解決，(+) 動力

日本政府に米國政府對之日本政府がこれ内ニ於テ中國政府
ト間ニ平和的解決折衝ヲ提案スル全般の條件ヲ通報ス。
而シテ日本政府聲明ニ依リ是等ノ條件善隣友好並ニ主權及
領土相互尊重ニ關スル衡原則及ビ實際的適用ト調和セ
テ之ニ依リ米國大統領ハ中國政府ニ對シ中國政府及
日本政府が敵對行為終結及ビ平和的關係ノ再開

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、爲ニ相互ニ有利ニシテ受諾可能、基礎ニ基キ折衝ヲ開始スベキコトヲ提唱スベシ。

三頁ノ

註(第三章、前記草案ハ日本軍、中國駐屯ヲ始メ共產運動ニ對スル共同防衛問題並ニ日華經濟協力ニ就キ更ニ討議ヲ受スルモノナル。第三章、又何ヲ變更スベシト、提案ニ對シテハ提議セラレタル變更ヲ本章ニ關スル附屬書ニ含メザル凡テ事項が満足スベキ程度ニ解決セラレタ後ニ考慮スルコトが最も有効ナルト思考セラルル。其時ニ於テ當該章及ビ附屬書ヲ一括ニ檢討シ得ベシ。

四 兩國間、通商。

現在、了解ニ對シ兩國政府、公式承認アリタル時ニ米國及ビ日本、夫々が保有スル兩國、孰レが必要ナル物資ヲ相互ニ供給スベキコトヲ確約スル。更ニ兩國政府、以前、日米通商及ビ航海條約ニ依リ確立セラシテ正常貿易關係ヲ再開スルニ必要ナル手段ヲ講ズルコトニ同意スル。兩國政府が新通商條約ヲ希望スル時ニ之ヲ可及的速ニ交渉シ通常手續ニ依リ締結スベシ。

五 太平洋地域ニ於ケル兩國經濟活動。

太平洋地域ニ於ケル日本活動及ビ米國活動平和的手段ニ依リ且テ國際通商關係ニ於ケル無差別原則ニ則リ行ハルベシ、茲ニ爲サレタル相互誓約ニ基キ日本政府及ビ米國政府、各自經濟、保全及ビ發展ニ必要ナル天然資源(例バ油、ゴム、錫、ニッケル等)通商ニ依リ供給ヲ日本及ビ米國が無差別の條件様相互ニ協カスベキコトヲ約ス。

4

六 太平洋地域ニ於ケル政治的安定ニ影響アル兩國政策。

兩國政府、此ノ了解基礎ヲ爲ス支配的政策ハ太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和

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テールト

兩國政府、根本的目的、太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和、維持及ビ保全ニ對シ共同ノ努力ニ依リ貢獻セトスルコト。又兩國政府、孰モ上述地域ニ領土ノ野心ナキニ宣言スル。

セーロン群島、中立化

日本政府ハ「セーロン」獨立達成セラレタル時、米國政府、欲スル時、同政府トシテ中立化爲メ、條約締結ニ關シ欣然交渉ヲ開始スルモノト宣言スル。

(附屬書一)

日本政府側附屬書及ニ補足言

(一) 日本中國間、平和的解決ニ對スル行動、上記節ニ於テ言及スル基本的條件次、如シ。

一、善隣友好。

二、有害ナル共產主義活動ニ對スル共同防衛——日本軍、中國領土内駐セリ合シ更ニ討議ヲ要スルモノトス。

三、經濟的協力(國際通商關係ニ於テ無差別ノ原則)是ニ適用スル爲メ交換運輸ニ依リ協定ヲ要スルモノトス。

四、主權及ビ領土^{相互}ノ尊重。

五、良キ隣人トシテ協力、世界平和ニ貢獻スル極東ノ中核ヲ形成スル國家トシテ各々固有特徴ヲ相互ノ尊重スルコト。

六、日本軍隊、中國領土ヨリ、可及的速カナル日本中國間ニ締結セラレベキ協約ヲ準據スル撤退。

七、領土、不併合。

八、不賠償。

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九滿洲國ニ關スル友好的交渉

全頁

(附屬書 二)

米國政府側附屬書並補足書

(四) 兩國間通商

現下、國際非常時中、日本及米國、各々、安全及自己防衛、目的、
爲要スル物資ヲ除キ、平常又、戰前、貿易、數字ニ達スル迄、數量、物資ヲ
相手國ニ輸出スルニ、許可スルモノト、解ヤレル是等、制限、各々政府責
任ヲ明瞭ナラシムル爲メ、舉ゲラル。此、孰レ政府ニ對スル制限モ非ズ、
兩國政府、右規則、友好國ト、關係ヲ支配スル精神、以テ適用スルモノト
了解セラル。

Pac 220c (37)

(附展書三)

提果でうしタル事務長官及日本大使間、書翰交換

事務長官ヨリ日本大使宛

拝啓 閣下、本日本国政府ヲ代表シ締結シタル共同宣言
ノ中ニ章三歐洲戦争ニ対スル両政府ノ態度ニ関スル聲
明有之候。本共同宣言、締結ヲ招来セル非公式會談ニ於
テ余ハ閣下ニ屢々歐洲戦争ニ対スル我々政府ノ態度及
ビ政策ヲ説明シ此ノ態度及ビ政策ハ奪フカ予シ自己防衛ノ
權利ニ基クニトテ指摘致候。尚余ハ本問題ニ対スル我が政府
ノ立場ヲ完全ニ表明セシ四月廿四日余ガセル演説ニ特ニ注
意ヲ促シ候

閣下ハ歐洲戦争ニ対スル我が政府ノ態度ヲ完全ニ承知
セラルモト余ハ確信致候得共誤解ヲ避クル爲余ハ再
ビ同問題ニ言及致候。當ル自己安全、我々餘儀ヲ取
ルコトナレバ、我々表明セウシタル處置ニ関シ、日本政府ハ
太平洋地域ニ平和ヲ確立ニ維持セトスル本協定ノ根本
目的ニ反スル又ハ之ヲ破壊スル行動ヲ取ルコトヲ日本ニ要求
スル誓約ヲ何等爲スル事ナリ。日本政府ノ確認ヲ閣下
ヨリ得ベキ事甚ニ幸存候。閣下ニ對シテ予ハ、最高
敬意ヲ表シ候

敬具

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六頁ノ

日本大使ヨリ外務長官宛

拜復 二月

日附貴閣拜受は候

最近、會談中閣下が余ニ説明セツシ又閣下が四月二十
四日付セル演説ニ述ベウシク歐洲戦争ニ對スル米不政府、
態度ヲ我が政府ハ充分永知セル旨ヲ余ハ申述度候。
余ハ米不政府ノ政策ヲ閣下が余ニ説明セツタ通り確ニ我
が政府ニ報告致候。而シテ余ハ我が政府が歐洲戦争ニ
對スル米不政府ノ態度及立場ヲ了解シ且認識スル
コトヲ閣下ニ確言致度候。

更ニ余ハ日本政府ハ米不政府が自己ノ安全ノ爲ニ餘
儀ナク取ルコトアルニ甚處憂國ニテ、本協定ノ根本目的
ニ及スル又ハ之ヲ破壊スル行動ヲ取ルコトヲ固ニ警戒スル
旨ヲ約ヲ何等及ビ告グザル旨ヲ閣下ニ確言致度候。

日本政府ハ本協定ノ締結ニ依リ任意ニ負ヒタリ、
責任ヲ充分ニ認識シ太平洋地域ニ於ケル平和、確立及
維持ニ有電ナル行動ヲ取ラザル決意ヲ有スルモノニ
有之候。

閣下ニ對シ特別ノ敬意ヲ表之候。

野田

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(附原書第四)

共同宣言ニ関スル王移長官ヨリ日本大使宛書簡提議卓果

科隆閣下我等兩政府向テ解ニ関スル全般的協定、
締結ヲ招来セル非公式會談ニ於テ閣下及ビ閣下ノ同僚ハ日
本が提案スル中小ト、經濟協力ニ至隆通商關係ニ於ケル
無差別主義ノ原則ヲ適用スルコトニ關シ、日本政府ノ意向
ニ就キ充分且卒直ニ所見ヲ表明セリ候。若シ閣下が假ニ
口頭ニ述ビテタル陳述ノ次ノ諸点ニ就キ回答ノ形式ニ確
認被下候ハハ有益ナルベシト信ジ候。

一、日華間ノ經濟協力ニテ語ハ中ニ政府ニ依リ日本政府又
ハソノ人民ニ對シテ亦政府及ビ亦人民並ニ他ノ第三ノ人ニ比較シ
テ有利トモ差別待遇ヲ又優先的又独占的權利ヲ与ル
コトヲ企圖スルモノナリヤ。日華間ノ平和的解決ノ為ニ交渉
開始ニ至リ日本ノ特殊會社例ハ六支那開發株式會社
及ビ中支那振興株式會社及ソノ十會社ハ日本政府ノ公
的支拂ニ關スル限リ於テハ彼等が實際ニ行使スルコトアル
ベキ又ハ日本軍占領下ノ中カ、諸地域ニ於ケル現狀ニ依リ
彼等ニ歸スルコトアルベキ独占的又ハ他ノ優先的權利ヲ
剝奪セラルベキコトヲ企圖セシモノナリヤ。

二、日本軍占領下ノ中小領土内ニ於ケルモノハ、貿易及
ビ旅行ノ自由ニ對スル現在ノ制限ニ關シ、日本政府ハ重複
政府トノ交渉ヲ開始スルト同時ニ凡ソ如何ナル制限が撤
廢セラルベキヤ及ビ各々ノ場合別限撤廢ノ實施セラルベキ
凡ソノ時機ヲ出来得ル限リ示シ得ルヤ。

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三、日本政府^{（中國政府）}が貿易、通貨爲替二國スル事項、完全ナル
管理ヲ行使スベキコトヲ意圖スルヤ。日本政府ハ中ニ
流通スル日本軍票及ビ日本後援ノ中ニ諸政權ノ紙幣ヲ
同收シ償還スル意圖アリヤ。日本政府ハ企圖セラルル交
渉ノ開始後、何時頃上記諸目的ニ對スル取極ヲ實施シ
得ルモノト考ヘラルルカヲ示シ得ルヤ。

上記列舉ノ質問ニ對シ、出来得ル限リ明確ナル
回答ヲ得ル事甚ニ存存候。

敬具
外交關係書二卷 四六—四九二頁